THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

A Weekly Newspaper Established In 1917

September 3, 1949

NEW LABOR RULES

AN EDITORIAL

Dispatch From Indonesia

Harold R. Isaacs

Trade Unions In USSR

R. D. Merrick

Old Opera, Modern Style

William Berges

US & BRITISH POLICY

AN EDITORIAL

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LETTERS From The People

Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited: their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of The China Weekly Review.

Frank Articles

To The Editor:

I wish to congratulate your paper on its continuing to serve the foreign community at the present time and to express my hope that your economic situation will ease up somewhat in the near future so that you can continue to publish as long as your paper embodies its present high standard of journalism. Your frank articles give us all great hope for the future. They augur well for the freedom of the press in the New China.

Our experiences here in Wuchang have closely paralleled yours in Shanghai. There has been a minimum of misunderstanding and disruption and our school is today registering as usual for the new term. Rumors spread by KMT agents are still rife, but as people see things with their own eyes, such false stories gain little credence now. As one of the boys here said, "It seems the only thing you can rely on now is the New China News Agency." This may be an overstatement. I should certainly be inclined to rely on the Review, and I hope conditions will remain such that we can continue to rely on it.

BARRON E. WILSON.
Boone School, Wuchang
Hupeh
August, 25, 1949.

Bottom Of A Well

To The Editor:

I hope this letter will reach you, via my brother in Hong Kong. War has isolated Shanghai from cities south of the Yangtze; the Review has stopped coming. We in Changsha are waiting for the change-over as if we were looking at the sky from the bottom of a well. Every evening, I enjoy the news by radio from Peiping, and then pass it on to my relatives who are anxious to hear about such things as the eight-point administrative policy and the ten-point housing policy.

To speak frankly, we in Changsha are at our wit's end. Hundreds of shopkeepers are bankrupt, and street barricades show that even more chaos lies ahead. Officers and soldiers alike have had to borrow rice from private mills because not even a grain has been issued them. Only those rice mills with strong backing have been able to keep going. Not only the lao pai hsing grumble about their relentless maltreatment by the Government maladministration, but also soldiers and even their officers complain.

An amusing thing happened when the garrison commander, General Chen Min-jen, noted for his tough resistance in Szepingkai, summoned a press conference. He launched out on a tirade, shouting that while he still controlled 150,000 troops, he would resist the coming Communist offensive to the last.

(Continued on page 14)

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The editorial pages present each week the opinions of the editor. The other pages of The China Weekly Review are written by the other members of the staff and the contributing editors who report and interpret the news irrespective of the views expressed in the editorials.

Vol. 115 Shanghai, Saturday, September 3, 1949 No. 1

Two Policies

THE contrast between the China policy of the United States and that of Great Britain becomes sharper with almost each passing week. While the United States obviously grows more hostile toward the new regime in this country and apparently more determined to hinder it as much as possible, Britain continues to make attempts to carry on commercial and other relations in as normal a fashion as circumstances will permit.

In Washington the United States government has recently issued a document reviewing its past relations with China and setting forth a few ideas about the new regime here. This White Paper, upon which we have commented extensively for the past two weeks, is characterized mainly by its extremely partisan point of view and its many logical weaknesses.

Meanwhile, there are other indications that the United States is actively pursuing a policy designed to demonstrate its dissatisfaction with the way things are progressing in this country. It is closing consulates right and left as the PLA advances. The State Department has ordered its representatives to vacate both Canton and Tihwa prior to the arrival of the People's Liberation Army forces.

It is also reliably reported that Washington is not adverse to discouraging private American businessmen desiring to trade with the new China. The State Department all along has been the main motivating force behind the scheme to send a ship, termed at various times an "evacuation" ship and a "mercy" ship, to Shanghai to remove all foreigners desiring to leave. Upon at least one occasion the State Department was able to step in and veto an agreement reached between an American firm and the local authorities for the resumption of business.

The position of the British government is in startling contrast. Not only has London not seen the necessity for issuing an official statement belaboring the Chinese, both past and present, and proclaiming to the world its own virtues, but it has done its best to maintain relations with the new People's China.

It has not made any move to evacuate its nationals other than to issue routine warnings to those British subjects residing in the various parts of China as the fighting front approaches. Certainly it has not tried to pull off a propaganda stunt such as the American "mercy" ship. Nor has it in any way interfered with the plans and attempts of private firms to continue business operations. In fact, it has quietly been giving what aid it could in different ways. The British Navy, without fanfare, has been convoying merchant shipping insofar as it has been practical.

The differing approaches of the two governments is even reflected, to a certain extent, in the attitudes of their respective nationals remaining in China. American businessmen are on the whole quite pessimistic and quite a few are planning to leave. Most British businessmen, while certainly unhappy about current losses, hope to stick it out and are looking forward to profitable and friendly relations in the future. The *North China Daily News*, which could hardly be considered pro-communist in its views, just last week took the British government to task because it had not seen fit to break the KMT blockade, presumably by force if need be.

* * *

IT is an open secret that many American businessmen are quite unhappy about the failure of their British colleagues to agree with them in their estimates of the situation. Some openly complain that while they are losing their shirts, they do not feel they can "afford" to cut their losses by shutting down and clearing out so long as their British counterparts are prepared to stick it out. Likewise, it is no secret that some British businessmen have hopes of obtaining a larger share of China's trade in the future if their American competitors pull up stakes and leave.

Some local observers have expressed the view that British-American relations may deteriorate over this divergence of opinion. In fact there is evidence, they say, that America's announced intention to consult with other powers "interested" in the Pacific in an attempt to form a solid front and a common policy toward the new regime in China may meet with considerable opposition from Britain. British circles, it is said, take the view that this may well be merely an attempt by America to buttress its own very weak position for future dealings with the new regime. Admittedly America is in bad repute here, they say, because of her past aid to the KMT. Now, it appears, America is setting out on an avowedly antagonistic policy toward the new regime. Unless America can line up some of the other foreign powers to support her stand, she may find herself in the position of being left out, both as far as trade and general influence in this part of Asia are concerned.

Thus, it is said, Secretary of State Acheson may well raise the question of policy toward China during the British-American dollar talks in Washington. Acheson, some observers predict, will do his best to use America's economic power over the British, French, Dutch, etc. to bring them over to the American point of view. This suspicion is justified, it is claimed, because of the similar situations arising in the past with regard to trade and relations with the countries of Eastern Europe. The ban on East-West trade, plus the long list of prohibited "strategic materials," which have hampered the recovery of both Eastern and Western Europe are almost entirely the result of American pressure upon Western European countries, administered through the agency of Marshall Plan aid.

While we obviously cannot say just how much there is in such speculation regarding the China policies of the Western powers, these points are well worth considering. Even if the British government should, for one reason or another, alter its present policy so as to accommodate it to American wishes, the reaction on the part of Britain's private traders is by no means certain to follow that of the home government. It is also possible that the London government will find it difficult to change its policy because of the importance of British investments in China, both in actual capital plant existing in this country and in the revenue normally obtained from the China trade.

In any event, the signs of differences between the British and Americans are increasing and, whatever the outcome, these developments may well have their effects upon all of us engaged in doing business with China, no matter what the exact nature of our operations.

News From All Over

In Strasbourg, according to *AP*, the European Consultative Assembly announced that it had drawn up an 11-point bill of rights for Europeans. This European "magna carta for the common man" was prepared by a group headed by Winston Churchill which used the bill of rights of the United States Constitution as one of its models.

In Peekskill, New York, according to *AP*, marching veterans broke up a Paul Robeson concert in a fierce three-hour riot. The veterans were protesting Robeson's "alleged left-wing activities." The Secretary of the American Civil Rights Congress, which was sponsoring the concert, said the well-known American negro singer barely escaped "bodily injury and possibly lynching."

New Labor Law

THE promulgation of the new provisional regulations governing the settlement of labor disputes has raised far less comment than we had anticipated. Perhaps one reason why reaction has been so delayed and so scant was that on the same day regulations governing the settlement of disputes over such matters as severance pay, re-employment, etc. were announced. It is, we suppose, only natural that with Shanghai's business being in its present stagnant state, more interest should be paid to the latter set of regulations.

However, in our view, the first set has some especially pertinent points which may be of utmost importance for both labor and management. Briefly, the rules may be summed up as follows:

Whenever a dispute between labor and management breaks out, the two contending parties should attempt to settle it through direct negotiation. If no settlement can be reached, either party may apply to the Labor Bureau for mediation. If either or both parties are dissatisfied with the Labor Bureau's decision, the dispute may be taken to the People's Court for final settlement. In some instances, there may be one more step added, in that when the laborers wish to present a demand to management, they may ask the general labor union to review their demand and, if necessary, appoint delegates to accompany the laborers in presenting their demand to management. This step, if taken, precedes the mediation of the Labor Bureau.

The regulations then go on to say that no agreement reached by coercion of one side by the other shall be recognized as valid. One further point, which appears to us to be perhaps the most important of all, states that when negotiation, mediation, or arbitration of a dispute is still pending, both labor and capital shall maintain the original condition of production. In short, the management may not lock out the workers, refuse to pay them, or in other ways take action against them, while at the same time the workers may not strike, go slow or in any other way delay or interfere with production.

If our interpretation is correct, this section forbids both strikes and lockouts, or any variation of either, and thus ensures uninterrupted production. If such actions cannot be taken during "negotiation, mediation, or arbitration," they apparently cannot be taken at any time, since the final decision is made by the court and any violation of the court's order would be a violation of law.

Such a regulation, it might be argued, is too severe in that it ties the hands of both labor and management. However, it might also be argued that strikes and lockouts become unnecessary when compulsory negotiation and settlement of labor-management disputes is provided for.

While it is perhaps too early to tell just how these new regulations will work out, one might presume, upon the basis of the so far announced intentions of the government, that such compulsory negotiation will be of an objective, enlightened nature, designed to safeguard the interests of workers in a country on the road to socialism, and the interests of management and ownership in a country which is still in urgent need of building up the means of production and which is attempting to accomplish this through a policy of encouraging the development of private capitalism.

* * *

IN ANY event it can hardly be denied that a clearly set forth regulation, which seems to aim at benefitting all parties as much as is possible at this present stage of development, is a great step forward from the old days under the KMT. If nothing else, the enunciation of a definite labor-management policy is an improvement upon the former system which was nothing more than an improvised, day to day affair, designed to take as much advantage of each situation as possible in order to further the narrow interests of the Kuomintang bureaucracy.

Many readers will recall the seeming contradictions of the past when at one given moment the authorities seemed to be strongly pro-labor, while at the next they engineered the most repressive acts imaginable against Shanghai's workers.

Immediately after VJ Day, Shanghai industrialists were crippled by a series of strikes and other labor disturbances which, in some cases, were actually instigated by the government. The reason was not difficult to discover. At that time, Chungking's bureaucrats were being flown back to Shanghai by the American Army and they discovered that their hold upon the city was none too strong. PLA guerillas had been active in the surrounding countryside, while local industrialists were still in possession of some of their old power. In an effort to win workers away from any possible communist leanings, as well as to hamstring the independent local industrial and financial interests, the authorities exploited labor by giving it a free rein and also by actually egging various groups of workers to strike or in other ways disrupt factory operations.

However, once General Wedemeyer had flown sufficient Nationalist troops into this area and the Communist forces hereabouts had begun their voluntary withdrawal into Shantung, the KMT unleashed a full scale attack upon labor, aimed at destroying any power which the latter may have acquired. The wholesale cracking of heads at the Shanghai Power Company by KMT-directed gangs of ruffians was an outstanding example of this period of labor suppression.

The following period, lasting some three years, was one of general labor quiet, enforced by military and secret police force. Of course there were some labor disturbances, bordering at times upon small scale riots, but there were rarely genuine conflicts between labor and management. More often they were the result of KMT politicking inside the unions themselves. Sometimes it was a fight brought on when the KMT appointed entirely new union officials to "take over" the direction of affairs in a particular union, or upon other occasions the trouble resulted from a fight for power in the union between different cliques of the Kuomintang itself.

Certainly this is an era we are pleased to see ended, although it is not one which either Shanghai workers or industrialists can easily forget. The new regulations give the city, for the first time, what appears to be a reasonable labor-management code. It may develop that it has defects which will need correcting, but that is perhaps only to be expected since the new rules aim at satisfying both parties as far as is possible at this stage of development. Arguments will undoubtedly develop and appeals for clarification and alteration will certainly be made. However, the important thing is that the city now has a framework within which labor-management controversies can be argued out and settled. This is a great step forward and should be welcomed by all concerned—labor, management, and the consuming public.

SWISS VIEW OF M'ARTHUR IN JAPAN

Leffel in Nebelspalter, Romanshorn

Which News Agency Do You Read?

"Finn Workers Ignoring Strike Orders"—Headline on *AP* story from Helsinki on August 23.

"Strikes In Finland Said Spreading"—Headline on *Reuter* story from Helsinki on August 28.

The Church Backs Down

EVER since the promulgation of a papal decree, a month ago, threatening Communists and their sympathizers with excommunication, we have been awaiting further developments, particularly as they affect Roman Catholics in China in their relations with the new government.

We were interested, therefore, in a letter from a Chinese Catholic, published elsewhere in this issue, calling our attention to an article in the July-August issue of the *Catholic Review* in which, our correspondent says, the implication is made that "those Catholics who intend to support the new Chinese People's government in its efforts for peace and reconstruction are . . . to be called heretics and therefore condemned to hellfire."

However, since this issue of the *Catholic Review* was published, further news from the Vatican indicates that the Catholic Church has modified its stand. The original ruling, it will be recalled, declared it was illegal, in the eyes of the Church, for a Catholic "to be a Communist or to condone communism" and to "print, distribute or read books, periodicals, newspapers, or pamphlets propagating Communist doctrine or to write in them." The decree specifically stated that Catholics who willfully do these things will be denied the sacraments. It added that Catholics who "profess the materialistic and anti-Christ doctrines of communism, and particularly those who defend and propagate it, incur, ipso facto . . . the danger of excommunication."

This was widely interpreted as applying to Catholics who support Communist governments or parties in the eastern European countries, and elsewhere, such as in France, Italy and China. In fact, it followed on the heels of exceedingly specific warnings to this effect issued by the prelates of certain of these countries who have been against any working agreement between the Church and state.

Now, however, it seems that the excommunication decree is not so sweeping as was first thought. Two weeks after the issuance of the decree, the Vatican newspaper *Osservatore Romano*, explained that Catholics who support communism with votes or money but who reject its "materialistic, anti-Christian" doctrine do not fall under excommunication.

More recently, another decree has been issued by the Holy Office. This one permits a militant Communist to participate in the sacrament of matrimony. It was issued, according to the *Osservatore Romano*, because "inaccurate interpretations, especially with regard to matrimony, have arisen" following the excommunication order. The paper then went on to explain that, while matrimony most certainly is a sacrament, it differs from the other sacraments in that a marriage between a Catholic and a non-Catholic is not performed inside the church proper and does not involve the sacrament of Holy Communion which accompanies a marriage ceremony between two Catholics.

These two modifications are of considerable significance, since the first gives Catholics relatively wide latitude in the political field, and the second permits freedom of action in social relations. As things stand now, or appear to stand in view of the above, a Catholic may not read Communist literature or permit himself to believe in Communist doctrine, but he may vote for and support a Communist government, and he may also marry a Communist, providing, of course, that he does not share his spouse's political views.

Ours not to reason why the Church has chosen to so effectively take the teeth out of its earlier decree. Possibly, on second thought, the first decree, which Vatican circles said had been issued only after "long and grave deliberation," involved too much risk. As we pointed out in an editorial on the subject last month, the Church was saying, in effect, to the Catholics in Eastern Europe and China that they must oppose their governments or cease to be Catholics. Such a stand, we said, would mean that the Church would have to "be successful as a counter-revolutionary force or see its spiritual kingdom shrink to the environs of the anti-Communist countries and its fortunes rise or wane with theirs." The Church may have decided that such an uncompromising position is not wise at the present time. It may have feared that too many of its followers, if forced to choose between Catholicism and communism, might choose the latter.

25 Years Ago In *The China Weekly Review*

A Japanese View

August 30, 1924.

Mr. Y. Tsurumi, one of the best known Japanese writers, recently delivered an address before the Institute of Politics at Williams College, Williamstown, Mass., in which he stated that the recent US Immigration Law would compel Japan to fall back on Asia as a colonization ground which would result in a readjustment of the political situation in the Far East and this in turn might bring about "unfavorable consequences" at no distant date. By "unfavorable consequences" we assume Mr. Tsurumi means that since Japanese immigration has been barred from the United States, Japan must now find a place for them on the continent of Asia. Therefore Japan must resume her old imperialistic tactics in respect to the territories of her neighbors on the continent. Or to turn the argument around the other way, America by permitting the unrestricted immigration of Japanese laborers into the United States, could by so doing prevent Japan from aggressing upon China and Russia. In other words Japan has got to find territory somewhere and if she can't get it in the United States, then she must turn to Asia: Hence the "unfavorable consequence."

This whole argument has its foundation in the old imperialistic doctrine of "irrepressible expansion" which has been used since earliest times by aggressive and imperialistic nations, but which has never been able to find any recognized status in international law. The practical formula of this doctrine amounts to this: If a Power desires possession of territory belonging to another nation, and the Power wanting the territory is stronger in military force than the other nation, then the Power which wants to expand decides itself that it requires the additional territory and moves into it. . . .

From—"Unfavorable Consequences In The Far East"

* * *

North China Flood

The flood situation in Tientsin has been much improved this week as the Chinese autumn has begun and drier weather prevails. Thanks to the local authorities, Tientsin is now considered safe from such a disaster as it experienced in 1917. So far, the Hai Ho has carried off the flood water and the various embankments encircling Tientsin are sound. Now the attention of the Tientsin public will be gradually turned to relief work in other districts.

10 Years Ago In *The China Weekly Review*

Soybean Popularity

September 2, 1939

According to an article in the Kansas City Star, that "highly touted Chinese immigrant the soybean," has rapidly gained in popularity with the American farmer. The soybean was introduced in the United States as a "depression cure-all," and has steadily won an important place in the farmer's scheme of things. This year the American farmers are actually cultivating 8,119,000 acres of soybeans which represents an increase from 6,119,000 acres of last year. . . . . While the industrial uses of the soybean in paints, varnishes and plastics, were stressed at the beginning, the American farmer has found the plant chiefly valuable as food for farm animals, particularly dairy cattle and pigs. The use of soybean oil is however, rapidly increasing, particularly in the production of vegetable shortenings, compounds, and cooking and salad oils.

* * *

Chungking Bombed

Some 50 Japanese planes bombed Chungking again on the night of August 28. According to the United Press report of the raid, a dozen incendiary bombs were dropped on the western outskirts of the city, causing three fires which were easily extinguished within five minutes, due to the fact that the missiles missed the crowded residential section.

Some 30 Chinese pursuit planes took to the air and gave battle to the raiders, reportedly bringing down two of the Japanese machines. The Japanese Domei agency's account of the raid said the raiders were challenged by only three Chinese pursuit planes and that these were put to rout. On their way back to their base, the Japanese raiders scattered more than 100,000 leaflets, it was stated.

Dispatch From Indonesia

Harold R. Isaacs

Reprinted from Eastern World

The trip which Mr. Isaacs describes was made last spring, before the cease-fire agreement which resulted when the Dutch forces and some members of the Indonesian leadership reached a compromise agreement. Current reports from Indonesia are scanty and it is not known just what percentage of the "Republic's" leadership is participating in the negotiations with the Dutch at The Hague and what portion has maintained its original stand and is still carrying on resistance.—Editor.

EVERY morning shortly after dawn, Dutch airplanes take off from the airfield at Semarang on the north coast of central Java. Two by two they make long reconnoitering sweeps over the roads that wind out across the reconquered territory of the Indonesian Republic. If their reports indicate that the roads are clear and the bridges intact since the previous day, then the convoys start out, carrying supplies from the north to the occupied towns and cities of the Republic. The main terminals are Surakarta and Jogjakarta, the latter the capital of the Republic. If a bridge has been blown or a road mined overnight, the convoys wait until repairs have been made.

I waited one morning recently for two hours at Ambarawa, convoy assembly point south of Semarang. While an armored car at the head of the convoy waited for the all-clear radio signal, the convoy gradually took shape. The Dutch military vehicles were all American or Canadian Fords and Chevrolets and jeeps. Some of the American equipment was war-time lend-lease, some of it brand new products of latter-day lend lease, Marshall Plan aid. The British equipment was largely part of the material left in Java for the Dutch by the British in 1946. Dutch troops riding with the convoy were dressed and equipped American or British style.

Guerilla Warfare

The clear signal came in finally at 10:00 a.m. and the convoy, bristling with guns, started south, preceded by an armored car and several scout cars mounted with machine guns. We rolled on down the beautiful valley of the Elo River. To the east and west of us rose the great central Javanese mountains, Merbabu, Merapi, and Telemajo on the east, and the twin peaks of Soembing and Sondoro to the west. Up from the valley floor and along those slopes, the bitter, bloody, and cruel business of small-scale guerilla warfare was going on. I saw none of it except the mute evidence of destruction, but from all I could learn, from both Dutch and Indonesian sources, there seems to be a great deal of weakness, of ineptitude and a lack of adequately supplied and trained forces on both sides. From an Indonesian guerilla officer I had met, I received details of the ruthless shooting-up of kampongs or villages. In any area where guerilla activity has been noted, patrols move in to neighboring or nearby villages and shoot them up indiscriminately. He gave me the names of several kampongs that had met this fate. "It is our greatest problem," he said, "to keep our people from being made innocent victims. There is hardly a day that civilian wounded are not being brought out, even now when our activity has been greatly reduced. I myself have seen 10 kampongs that have been destroyed this way."

The beauty of the countryside through which we passed, at any rate, was strictly confined to the landscape. Actually we entered a ravaged land. The Republicans did not attempt direct resistance when the Dutch attacked on last December 19. But they did attempt to make the only counter-attack of which they were capable. They systematically scorched the earth as they fell back. They destroyed bridges and immobilized the railroad. They did a thorough job. Every bridge we passed on the road from Semarang to Jogjakarta had been blown up and subsequently replaced with Bailey bridges by Dutch engineers. Culverts had been mined and blown and had to be refilled with stones and earth. In some cases, Dutch officers told me, they had reason to suspect that the men they hired in the morning for bridge repair work were the same men who demolished the same bridge at night.

Traps and Roadblocks

The road itself was strewn with evidence of the Republican attempt to slow down the Dutch advance. Hundreds of the great white "canary" trees had been felled to make roadblocks. The huge tree trunks, some of them with branches still green, had been pushed to the side of the road. They lay there like dead soldiers still unburied after a battle. Often trees had been half-hacked through, only to be hastily abandoned, perhaps on the coming of dawn or the approach of a Dutch patrol. Old tank traps, stanchions of rusty iron dating from the days of the Japanese invasion, had been reinstalled along the road and briefly held up the new army of invaders. At scores of places we rode over freshly-filled mine holes.

But the worst destruction was visible in the towns along the way, especially beginning at the city of Magelang and continuing the last 50 kilometers into Jokjakarta. The Republican orders had been to demolish every structure that might be useful to the Dutch. In Magelang every European-type of structure had been dynamited. The railroad station was a shambles, like the city hall, post office, military barracks and civilian residences. Only the Chinese quarter and the flimsy shacks of the people had been left untouched. In Sitjang, Plaback, and other villages, only a few houses were intact. Sugar factories stood half-wrecked, roofs sagging and walls crumbling. The railroad that flanks the road was almost totally ineffective. Most of the rail bridges were down and few had as yet been repaired. Trains were still standing in towns en route, unable to proceed in either direction and freight cars were gutted by the dozens, their steel frames lying on end like skeletons of cattle (a Javanese freight car is not much bigger than a good-sized cow!).

Economic Setback

This destruction along the Magelang-Jogja road was paralleled, I was told, by similar and even greater wrecking in the eastern and western sections of Central Java, where whole towns had been razed. The Dutch like to cite this destruction as evidence of the vicious character of the Republican regime, but one feels entitled to wonder what the Dutch, launching a deliberate attack on the Republic, expected the Republicans to do. It will take years and millions of dollars' worth of new material to restore these towns of Central Java to anything resembling their prewar condition. This is a task which neither the Dutch, now in occupation, nor the Republic, should it ever return here, could accomplish without maximum outside help and assured political and economic stability. By their action the Dutch have set back for years to come the economic rehabilitation of this entire area.

On many a wall of a wrecked building the retreating Republicans scrawled their defiance for the Dutch to read and most of these messages were still visible when I rode past them this week. Most common was: "Sekali Merdeka Tetap Merdeka" ("Once free, forever free"). The Dutch come with the claim that it is their object, too, to bring freedom to Indonesia, but Indonesians who have watched Dutch soldiers come into their land have not been given any reason to believe the Dutch claim. In Solo one of the first acts of the Dutch was to raze a monument that had been erected there to commemorate the anniversary of Republican independence. In Jogjakarta, one of the first things they did was to erase the name the Republicans had given to the city's main hotel. Jogjakarta citizens watched them carefully paint out the name *Merdeka*, the word that means freedom.

Jogjakarta itself, two months after its capture by Dutch troops, is a city of fear and insecurity. Dutch troops and civilians alike travel about armed at all times. Soldiers move around in pairs or larger groups. In a rather pathetic attempt to impress the populace with their strength, they race through the main streets of the town in their M-5

tanks, Bren carriers, and scout cars, soldiers perched at machine guns or carrying rifles at the ready. Firing is heard in the city almost every night.

At 7:00 p.m. a siren whines out the beginning of the curfew, which is rigidly enforced until 6:00 a.m. The people disappear and for most of them the darkness that descends is complete, since electricity has been cut off from all houses except those used by the Dutch military. It is after dark that the terror begins. Scarcely a night goes by without raids on private homes. In one kind of raid, Dutch intelligence patrols come around to make individual arrests of suspected guerillas or contacts. In some cases they conduct house searches. In one daylight round-up, they penned up 1,500 men, arrested 200 of them. In one instance they seized a radio from a doctor's house and arrested the doctor's niece, along with another girl and four boys, whom they charged with listening to foreign news broadcasts and transcribing them for clandestine circulation. This particular house still had electricity because it was linked to the adjoining hospital's own power plant.

Political Prisoners

The Dutch claim they are holding only some 40 political prisoners. They admit having many others whom they describe, however, as "criminals." Indonesian sources here say the Dutch have at least 500 prisoners in this city alone. About 10 of the most important prisoners are being held in the President's Palace, where Mrs. Soekarno, wife of the Republican president, and Mrs. Mohammed Hatta, wife of the prime minister, are still held incommunicado. The Dutch insisted they were not prisoners, although they refused me permission to see them to deliver letters from their husbands. It seemed a little absurd, since the Dutch authorities had allowed me to fly to Bangka to see Soekarna and Hatta.

Some civilians are being shot by Dutch patrols almost every night, usually as curfew violaters. According to incomplete figures gathered by the Indonesian Red Cross, 344 Indonesian civilians have been killed and 434 wounded in the city since the beginning of the occupation. In the week ending February 14, they listed seven killed and two wounded. One detailed report described the mass execution of 15 Indonesian civilians at a Chinese cemetery. Among the missing are Dr. T. S. T. Diaparai, secretary-general of the Indonesian Red Cross, and Jo Abdurachmian, information officer of the Red Cross. On January 17, Mr. Sohardo, Republican postmaster-general, was arrested and later reported to have "escaped." He has not been heard of since.

But even worse than official Dutch acts of repression are the *rampoks* or looting raids that occur nightly throughout the city. These raids have some curious features. The curfew is rigid enough to get people who violate it shot. Only military vehicles are allowed on the streets after 7:00 p.m. Nevertheless in case after case, including at least half a dozen described to me by the actual victims, the looters arrive at their selected victims' houses (and the selection seems to be quite careful, with a large majority of known Republicans on the list) in jeeps and trucks. In every case they are described as carrying arms of a type never seen in the Republican army. Where doors are not opened to them, they blow them down with grenades. In at least one case, they shot and killed a Chinese woman who screamed for help.

On a street called Sasrawidjajan, which intersects the main street, Malioboro, not 300 yards from the hotel and more than 150 yards from a military post, a band of some 30 of these looters turned up at 11:00 p.m. on the night of February 12 and systematically worked up and down the street until 3:00 a.m. They blew one door down with a grenade and fired revolver shots, apparently as signals, several times. They had a truck which moved along and picked up the loot as it was emptied out of the houses, including valuables, furniture, clothing, tableware, and in one case even the family supply of rice. The victims included Chinese, Indians and Indonesians. The raiders were all Indonesians in civilian dress but armed with Sten guns and "new, shiny" revolvers and rifles. I went through several of the houses that had been looted and was given detailed descriptions of what happened. The raiders they said, spoke Dutch among themselves. Several of the victims actually saw the truck in the street, but it was too dark for them to identify any markings it might have had on it. Although there was all this commotion in the street for four hours, no Dutch patrol appeared.

The victims gathered around me and answered my questions freely and with much bitterness. "Those are soldiers working for the Dutch, I'm sure of it," said one of them. "I never saw arms like that in the hands of the TNI (Tentara Nasional Indonesia—the Indonesian National Army) and I never heard Republican soldiers talk Dutch that way."

"Under the Republic," said another, "every man could sleep in his own house and feel unafraid. Now we all go with our families to sleep in the shops. We dare not sleep here any more."

"When seven o'clock comes," said a woman, "it is time to be afraid until morning."

Police Indifferent

These raids were reported to the military police, like others perpetrated on this street on five separate occasions. The only sign of Dutch reaction was the appearance of a single Indonesian military policeman, who made some cursory inquiries and disappeared. The commanding officer of the military police disclaimed all knowledge of these incidents, insisting they had not been reported. The firing at night he said was the work of nervous young sentries. "You know how youngsters are," he said, "peering in the darkness and imagining things, and of course, they fire at their own imaginings." These imaginings are, no doubt, the corpses picked up the next morning by the Red Cross. The looting going on, he said, was obviously the work of Republican bandits.

It is not easy for an Indonesian to win redress or even a hearing. I spoke to the wife of a man who was arrested a week ago by a Dutch patrol. Besides taking her husband, the patrol, she said, picked up her earrings, a brooch, and wristwatch. Next morning she went to military police headquarters to inquire about her husband. She was told he had been arrested as a guerilla. When she told about the theft of her jewellery, she was turned over to Indonesian policemen, who interrogated her for four hours, called her a liar, and let her go home. Later I was told she had been re-arrested on charges of bearing false witness.

A patrol raided the home of a Republican official named Rooslan, secretary-general of the Ministry of Information. The raiders searched his house, brandished their guns, struck him and members of his family. He went to the office of the military intelligence the next day and there saw one of the soldiers who had struck him. He pointed the man out to an officer. The officer shrugged. "Many of these fellows worked for the Japanese Kempetai," he said tolerantly. "We have yet to teach them discipline. You must excuse them." The officer who said this was a lieutenant named Kramer. His superior, Captain Vosveld, flatly denied to me, however, that he had any ex-Kempetai men on his staff. At any rate, he does have men, apparently, who use Kempetai methods.

Civil Administration

The Dutch have made very little headway in restoring civil administration since they took over. Many Republican officials have become hawkers on the streets rather than work for the Dutch. In one official's family, the wife is baking cakes for sale to eke out a living. The Dutch were out to demolish the Republican government, and after arresting and exiling the leaders, they emptied the Republican ministries of desks, typewriters and archives. Most of this material was shipped out of Jogjakarta on northbound convoys.

In an attempt to prove to the people the worthlessness of the Republican currency, the Dutch staged a big public burning of huge wads of the crudely-printed notes bearing the likeness of President Soekarno. When the fire died down, waiting onlookers later retrieved some of the charred notes, which promptly reappeared in the pasar, or local marketplace where Republican currency is still the preferred money, especially by the countryfolk bringing in foodstuff from the outside.

The Republican rupiah or ori was quoted before the Dutch attack at 40 to one Dutch guilder. On December 19 it plummeted to 400 to one. Since then it has climbed back steadily and I was offered an exchange in the pasar at 75 to one. This is money backed by nothing but a name and an idea. But it is one in which a great many people still stubbornly believe.

Trade Unions In The USSR

R. D. Merrick

THERE has been much debate on and around the question: what is the role of trade unions under socialism? This debate generally resolves itself into a discussion on what part trade unions play in the economic life of the Soviet Union and a comparison of Soviet trade unions with trade unions in capitalist countries.

The main purpose of workers' unions in the USSR is the same as that of workers' unions in capitalist countries, namely, to secure better working conditions and a higher standard of living for their own membership and for the whole working class. The importance of workers' unions in the USSR is evidenced by the fact that almost 100 percent of all Soviet workers are union members. It is true that the interests of the Soviet unionists coincide with the interests of all sections of the Soviet people and with the policy of their government, and that this is not always the case in capitalist countries. For this reason strikes are unnecessary under socialism, while, under capitalism, trade unionists are often forced to strike to have their needs considered.

Strikes and Production

The question of the "right to strike" or of the need for strikes is sometimes misunderstood. Some people deplore strikes in general because they hinder production. There is little justification for this attitude when we consider conditions in capitalist countries. After all, the periodic crises of "over production," or "under consumption," and the chronic nature of mass unemployment in most capitalist countries, are far more serious obstacles to increased production than occasional strikes. It is the inefficiency of capitalism as a whole that is to be deplored. Indeed, strikes which enable workers to win wage increases may help raise the purchasing power of the masses and so ease crises of "over production." And strikes have been purposely called to prevent this so-called over production. In the United States, not so long ago, John Lewis called coal miners out on strike to prevent the appearance of a localized over-production of coal and the consequent unemployment of miners, as well as to prevent the employers from reducing the miners' wages. In capitalist countries, the strike is a group weapon to protect the interests of the workers against the conflicting interests of the employers.

In the Soviet Union, circumstances are different. Under the planned socialist economy there cannot be "over production," and economic crises have been eliminated. The one problem for many decades to come is to increase production per man in almost every line until the needs of the Soviet's 200,000,000 people can be fully met. Maintaining at present an eight-hour day, instead of the prewar seven-hour day, the Soviet trade unions are doing everything within their power to increase production. Since the factories are in the hands of the workers, and since the Soviet government is the workers' own government, there is no need for them to strike in order to obtain the best possible wages, hours, safety appliances, working conditions, housing, medical attention, recreation, children's nurseries, and the many other amenities that add up to good living standards. All these things are within the workers' own power and require only time and labor for accomplishment.

The most important task of the trade unions is to increase production by encouraging efficiency and developing Stakhanovite methods in every line of work. Efficiency is encouraged through socialist competition, progressive pay increases for overfulfillment of norms, and premiums and awards for exemplary workers. Since the war, the unions have paid special attention to the tasks of reconstruction. In this they have called for increased production per man, better organization of work, better discipline, economy in materials and machines, decrease in spoilage, and for improvement in quality as well as quantity of production. An example of the new efficiency is the work of the brigade of Maria Bolkova which included four weavers serving 16 machines. Maria's brigade learned to serve 32 machines, later 56, and finally 64 machines, and learned to waste only 25 seconds on a broken thread. Elezar Kuratov, of the Gorky automobile plant, using rationalization schemes, has lowered the time needed for preparing a number of details by two and one-half times. These examples have been multiplied by many thousands of times.

Besides increasing production, the trade unions aim also to obtain the best cultural and living standards possible under the present productive levels. B. B. Kuznetzoff in his "Socialist Competition and the Tasks of the Labor Unions" (1947), included the following among the immediate aims: food, housing, cultural centers, libraries, sports clubs, rest homes, holiday resorts and sanatoriums.

Postwar Activities

During the war, the fascists destroyed, in the Soviet Union, 1,710 cities and towns containing hundreds of thousands of private homes and public buildings. The trade union organizations alone lost 1,300 sports clubs, stadiums and cultural palaces, thousands of libraries, and nearly 2,000 holiday resorts and sanatoriums. All these have to be rebuilt. And the unions are now working to extend the system of stores, warehouses, vegetable farms, food-supply trusts and factories which are under their direct supervision through the ORS (the Division of Worker's Supply).

The increasing skill, efficiency and scope of Soviet labor, encouraged by the policy of the Soviet trade unions, means an ever higher standard of living for the workers and for the Soviet people as a whole.

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A TRIAL WILL HIGHLY CONVINCE

Old Opera, Modern Style

William Berges

THREE Attacks on the City of Chu (三打祝家莊), like *Pai Mao Nü*, is one of the oldest and best-known of the Chinese revolutionary dramas. But while *Pai Mao Nü* is a new creation, *Three Attacks* is an opera based upon a tale from the classic novel, *All Men Are Brothers* (水滸傳). But the old story has been greatly revised, and a comparison of the two shows that the plot has been considerably developed, with the *lao pai hsing* playing a more important role.

The drama is laid in Shantung during the Sung Dynasty. As written, it describes the three attacks against the city of Chu by a band of picturesque outlaws. The first two attacks fail, owing to the outlaws' insufficient preparation, poor organization, and following a theoretical strategy which does not take the actual situation into account. As played, however, because of time limitations, only the third and successful attack is represented.

Liang Shan P'o (梁山泊), an inaccessible mountain surrounded by water, has become the hideout of a group of "bandits" which in many ways resembles Robin Hood and his merry men. They have fled from a society under the oppressive and unjust rule of a corrupt feudal officialdom. Led by Sung Chiang (宋江) under the banners of "Follow the righteous way of Heaven" and "Support the weak and help the poor," they sally forth to do battle with the wicked and greedy landlord-officials.

Tribe of Scoundrels

The Chu family—the father, three sons and their womenfolk—are as precious a tribe of scoundrels as you will ever see. Sung Chiang's first two attacks have worried them, but as the opera opens, they are extremely confident. A military adviser, Lüan T'ing Yü (樂廷玉), has been sent from the capital to assist them, and with great braggadocio they gleefully look forward to their bandit-extermination campaign.

The people are in dire straits. They are hungry, but are forced to pay high taxes and are beaten when they dare to protest to the haughty Chus.

Meanwhile, Sün Li (孫立), an official of Tengchow (登州), has staged a small local revolt and has been forced to escape with his family after killing his enemies. On his way to Liang Shan to join Sung Chiang, he is accompanied by his wife, his brother Sün Hsin (孫新) and wife Ku Ta Sao (顧大嫂), his sister and her husband Yao Ho (樂和), and others. The group passes the night at a temple near Liang Shan, while Sün Li goes to meet Chiang. It is decided that Sün Li can best aid in capturing the town by entering it in disguise with the purpose of discovering the Chus' defensive strength and plans. Sün Li, remembering that Lüan T'ing Yü is his old schoolmate, sees now he can turn this connection to good advantage.

Sün Li returns to the temple, and after a brief argument with his violent younger brother, who wants to fight immediately, persuades his group to accept the plan. In an amusing scene, Yao Ho becomes a groom, Ku Ta Sao a maidservant attending Sün Li's wife, and Sün Hsin, grumblingly, Sün Li's servant. So they set off for the town.

At the gate, they are treated with contempt and suspicion by the Chus and their guards, who mount the gate-tower to inspect the new arrivals. But Lüan T'ing Yü recognizes Sün Li, and the group is permitted to enter; ostensibly, Sün Li will help the Chus to defend the town. To allay any last lingering suspicions and make his party doubly secure, Sün Li concocts a diversion, together with Sung Chiang, who sends one of his men with a small armed force against the town. Each of old Chu's three sons is defeated, but by pre-arrangement Sung Chiang's man allows himself to be captured by Sun Li, who thus gains great merit in old Chu's eyes. The man is imprisoned, joining some other men of Sung Chiang's in the jail.

Small Wine Party

Sün Li now basks in the complete confidence of the Chus. In another amusing scene, his wife is entertained at a small wine party by the vain and elegant Chu ladies, who want to make a splendid impression on their guests: they snap at the maids to bring the best cups. Sün Li's wife, attended by Ku Ta Sao, enters, and as the very polite ceremony begins, the Chu's chief maidservant (best played by a man) winks at Ku Ta Sao and invites her to have a drink with her. Ku Ta Sao profits by the occasion to pump the maid; she finds out where the jail is, where the paths lead to, the location of the drum tower, and the strength of the guard. Sün, Hsin, chafing at the inactivity, nearly upsets the apple cart by blundering into the garden, but Ku Ta Sao sharply sends him packing.

All this time, Yao Ho is having his troubles. He is suspected by the chief guard (who provides more comedy) as not being a real groom. He first tries to trap Yao Ho by asking him about the age of his horse; but he is saved by the Chu's old groom, whom he has befriended, who gives the right answers. The chief guard then hits upon another scheme. Inviting Yao Ho to a friendly drinking-bout in his quarters, he pretends to be a palmist and asks for Yao Ho's hand to read, hoping to discover if it is indeed the hand of a worker. Yao, thinking fast, jumps up, and extending his hand dramatically, asks his host if he thinks he is really a groom? Of course he isn't, he says, and tells a story about how he has been forced into his present low position because of family misfortunes. So the situation is saved.

Sün Li, having acquired sufficient information, by messenger arranges with Sung Chiang a date for the attack, the signal for which will be a fire in the drum tower. On the night set, Yao Ho and his men are in the drum tower, drinking with the guards. He suddenly makes himself known, overpowers the guards and sets fire to the tower. The gates are opened and Sung Chiang's men pour in. Then follows the *wu hsing* (武行), traditional stage representation of battle by mock sword-play and acrobatics, which goes off with a typical burst of frenzied activity. The town is taken, the people liberated, Sung Chiang's men are released from prison, and the Chus get their just deserts.

A beautiful closing scene shows the grateful people, carrying torches and lanterns, gathered at the gate to bid farewell to their deliverers. They pass through the cheering crowd and start on their way back to Liang Shan.

Three Attacks is done for the most part in the traditional style of "Peking opera." For example, the costumes and make-up are the same, including the marvelously hideous clown-like faces of the villains, which, with the elaborate costumes, produces an awesome and terrifying effect. They'd give quite a jolt to anyone running into them on a dark night. The gestures, such as riding horseback indicated by the carrying of a tasseled wand, and the opening of (imaginary) doors, are straight out of the old-style opera, although not as strictly executed. The music is much the same, except that certain new songs and choruses have been written. Compared with the old opera, there is more dialogue (chiefly in *Pai hua*) than singing. But most important, the plot emphasizes the social background, especially the oppression of the people, while in much of classical opera the plots concern amorous court intrigues.

Issues, Not Action

With respect to Mao Tze-tung's critical discussion of the role of art in the new society, *Three Attacks* falls into the category of works having their origin in ancient literature, which, he said, are admissible as sources, providing they are not accepted uncritically. The original story of this opera, like one of the very early progenitors of the Western novel, concerns itself almost wholly with action, omitting social issues and characterization almost entirely. Out of this material has been created a well-rounded, human and dramatic story, with good characterization and a more highly developed plot.

It is rather curious that *Three Attacks* has not had the critical or popular success enjoyed by *Pai Mao Nü*. Some time ago, we were privileged to see the excellent production by members of the Lu Hsün Arts Academy (it was recently done in Shanghai, by another group). Although it drew large and appreciative audiences, the opinion was stated that it wasn't "progressive" enough. Then, too, the Shanghai production at-

tracted much smaller audiences than *Pai Mao Nü*, and had a shorter run.

Granted *Three Attacks* is not progressive in contemporary terms, it does mark a considerable progress from the standpoint of old-style opera. In terms of the limitations imposed by the historical setting, it presents a revolt of high-principled men against social injustices. From the present-day viewpoint, such a revolt was not advanced, since Sung Chiang and his men, under their noble but vague banners, retired from society and waged individualistic, chivalric and heroic war upon oppressors of the people, much as Robin Hood's men robbed fat, purse-proud abbots in Sherwood Forest.

But the most serious shortcoming of the group on Liang Shan was the absence of a constructive, forward-looking political theory, which contributed to the failure of the first two attacks and prevented consolidation of the gain made by the third. Sung Chiang made no attempt to seize political power in Chu Chia Chuang. He and his heroes, having taken the town, killed the Chus, and liberated their men, were satisfied to turn the whole affair over to the *lao pai hsing* and return to Liang Shan. Presumably, the people of the town, having little political awareness, fell out among themselves over the division of the spoils and soon thereafter a new tyranny arose.

New Versus Old

Possibly *Pai Mao Nü* is a greater favorite because it presents, not only the present-day sufferings of the people and their liberation, but also a hint of the constructive political organization which will ensure that such social conditions will not recur. Perhaps also the public is more willing to accept the completely new than any revision of the traditional and sacrosanct. Western readers may remember in this connection the furious controversies about *Hamlet* in modern dress.

From the Western viewpoint, we think that *Three Attacks*, as theatre, is more interesting than *Pai Mao Nü*, despite the fact that the former requires some knowledge of the background and classical opera conventions for full enjoyment. *Three Attacks* is more colorful, it has more humor, and more important, the plot is developed more quickly.

We might mention two other examples of the revolutionary drama: *Revenge* (血淚仇), which, at the time of writing is still playing at the Lyceum Theatre; and the Red Amazon (紅娘子), which has now closed. *Revenge* is in the style of *Pai Mao Nü*, but if the latter is slow, *Revenge* is excruciatingly so; if *Pai Mao Nü*, contains almost too much pathos, *Revenge* drowns in its own tears. The acting, to put it mildly, is unrestrained to the extent that grief, lust and hatred become wild caricatures. *The Red Amazon*, like *Three Attacks*, deals with a revolt in the olden days romantically led by an intrepid young woman in a brilliant red costume. Both are worth seeing, the former notably for its excesses.

(This is the second of three articles on the liberation drama.)

The Week's Business

DURING the week under review, Shanghai's commodity prices began to assume a firm undertone in contrast to the weak trend prevailing in the past few weeks, while the total turnover registered drastic increases.

The main reason for the abrupt increase in the quotations and turnover, especially in the textile market, was the rising seasonal demand, as both local processing factories and outport merchants made heavy purchases. At the same time, with the steady expansion of the liberated areas, the marketing of the products of Shanghai has been greatly extended. Large quantities of the new crop of rice brought to Shanghai by the farmers were exchanged for textile goods to be transported to the rural areas. For this reason, the total volume traded in the cotton piece goods market went up by 182 percent and in the cotton yarn market 82 percent during the week ending August 27 as compared with the previous week. On August 30, for instance, a total of 14,340 bolts of cloth was traded as against 1,600 bolts on August 24.

Quotations for textile goods, meanwhile, advanced considerably during the one week period. Quoted at JMP870,000 per piece on August 24, the 42's Blue Phoenix cotton yarn topped the JMP1,000,000 mark on August 30. Dragon Head sheeting went from JMP26,500 to JMP29,700 per bolt.

Rice prices also picked up from Friday, August 26, in concert with the firm quotations in the local market. The rice prices in Shanghai, in point of fact, had practically been coming down to the same level as in the production areas, and therefore an increase here is necessary to ensure the continued arrival of rice from the interior. As a matter of fact, the Shanghai Food Company even effected a collection of 280 piculs of rice from the local market on August 25 for the purpose of maintaining the quotation. However, in comparison with the textile goods, the hikes in the rice quotations were much milder, thanks mainly to the abundant supply from the interior and the large quantities of rice later dumped on the market by the Shanghai Food Company.

According to the *Giefang Rhbao* (Liberation Daily), the wholesale commodity prices index for the week ending August 27 kept a mild decline, although the situation changed as from Monday, August 29. On August 22, the retail commodity price index was 236.04, and on August 26, Friday, it was 224.83, representing a decrease of 1.21.

In the Shanghai financial market during the week under review, the curb interest rate on loans drifted to lower levels than in the previous week, ranging from JMP4 to JMP8 per mille per day. The money situation remained on the easy side despite the month-end payment of wages on Wednesday.

As things stand, idle capital is still flooding the market, and some portion, at least, has not yet found proper outlets. It is estimated that of the JMP20,000,000,000 deposited at the local banks, only half has been extended as loans. Of the deposits two-thirds are fixed, and one-third is current. Of the loans, two-fifths are current, and three-fifths fixed.

With a view to absorbing surplus capital from the market and diverting it to proper channels, the Shanghai Branch of the People's Bank of China instituted a kind of "fixed deposits" from August 25, with JMP10,000 as one unit. Deposits are to be accepted from the general public, and no restrictions are placed on the amount. On the very first day, more than JMP800,000,000 was turned in to the People's Bank for these deposits. The Bank of China and the Bank of Communications were also appointed to handle these deposits.

In order to encourage the interflow of supplies and the export of supplies via Tientsin, the Bank of China has also taken up the handling of documentary transfer of funds in the form of release of loans. In addition to this, the People's Bank also announced measures giving a special discount on remittance rates, from 30 to 40 percent, to public and private enterprises for the purchase of necessary raw materials for Shanghai.

Beginning from September 1, the commodity prices in the local market commenced to decline again, with the money situation turning slightly tight. To some extent this was brought about by the regulations and measures promulgated on Thursday, requiring the completion of the recapitalization of the local banks before September 20. The local banks are also required to liquidate their holdings of supplies before September 20, which will naturally increase the supply of goods on the local market.

Following is a listing of representative commodity prices for the past week:

	Aug. 24 JMP	Aug. 31 JMP
Silver dollar ..	1,600	1,600
20's yarn	555,000	700,000
12-lb. cloth	26,500	32,000
Rice	41,000	44,000
Peanut oil	58,000	60,500
Coal briquette .	7,000	7,000

NEWS OF THE WEEK

PLA Liberates Lanchow, Pours Into North Kwangtung; Tito Censured

THE most important gains of the People's Liberation Army in the past week were the liberation of Lanchow, capital of Kansu province, and the deep thrust into Kwangtung province. The battle of Lanchow was a staggering blow to the Ma generals of the northwest, who are looked upon by some people as the last card of the reactionary Kuomintang in the defense of the northwest. It is reported that Yungching, 45 miles southwest of Lanchow on the south bank of the Yellow River also has been liberated. The remnant Kuomintang forces are retreating pell-mell toward the west.

In reply to the appeals of Moslem Generals Ma Hung-kwei and Ma Pufang for reinforcements, Chiang Kai-shek is reported by the *Hwa Shang Pao*, published in Hongkong, to have ordered the Ma generals to "reorganize and regroup" five regular armies for the defense of the northwest.

According to an official war communique issued by General Peng Teh-huai's headquarters, since the launching of the general offensive in the northwest on July 24, the People's Liberation Army has wiped out more than 11,900 Kuomintang men and officers and liberated 22 cities. During the first phase of the war operations, the PLA inflicted heavy losses on the enemy and at the same time seriously broke the morale of the Kuomintang armed forces. On several occasions, the defending troops had fled long before the arrival of the People's Liberation Army.

Because of the strict implementation of the national minority policy and leniency toward Kuomintang prisoners of war, the People's Liberation Army has won widespread confidence and sympathy among the Mohammedans. The repatriation of these war prisoners has been instrumental in dispelling the fears of the Mohammedans and winning their co-operation.

* * *

Kwangtung Pierced

HEAVY forces of the People's Liberation Army are pouring into northern Kwangtung from Kiangsi. Having liberated Chiennan, Tingnan and Lungnan on the Kiangsi-Kwangtung border, the People's Liberation Army will be able to advance southwestward to cut the Canton-Hankow Railway at Yingtak, approximately 80 miles north of Canton and thus outflank Kukong, which is generally regarded as the first line of the Kuomintang defense. Latest reports indicate that the vanguard of the People's Liberation Army has already joined hands with local guerillas in several places in northern Kwangtung.

In Fukien, the People's Liberation Army is converging on Amoy, whose days are numbered, having liberated Yungchun, Huian, Chinchiang, Nanan and Hsinyu.

Amid the continuing victories of the People's Liberation Army in Fukien and Kiangsi, Kuomintang officials in Canton are rapidly clearing out. According to dispatches from the South, the Pei Yung and Tien Ho airfields present a pathetic spectacle of confusion and noise; baggage is piled high in front of the CNAC and CATC offices. Public functionaries have little interest in their work and all government offices have been deserted. The employees of the banks and other industrial establishments are demanding fees to help them cope with the emergency. Officials who have come to Canton with their government offices from Nanking and Shanghai have no money to support themselves. Two of them are reported to have committed suicide on ac-

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count of poverty. All government offices and agencies have received orders to evacuate Canton before August 29. On the other hand, the people are calm but busy, standing in long queues in front of government banks to cash their silver dollar notes.

Well-informed military observers say it would surprise no one if Canton and Amoy should be liberated in the near future. Meanwhile, there has been growing evidence of further disintegration within the Kuomintang. The Kuomintang generals in Szechuen province are reported to be rowing among themselves. Chang Chun, director of the Chungking Pacification Bureau who is generally considered as Chiang Kai-shek's trusted man, is said to have tendered his resignation because of heavy pressure from the native generals. Chiang Kai-shek had to fly to Chungking to patch things up.

* * *

Northeast People's Gov't

IN liberated China, steps have been taken to strengthen the political structure and to implement democracy. The People's Delegate Conference recently held in Mukden has elected a People's government for the Northeast provinces. The Northeast Political Affairs Commission, which functioned as an interim government during the past three years since the liberation of the northeast provinces, has folded up.

In Shihchiachuang, the People's Delegate Conference elected a city government council, a mayor and deputy mayor. In the newly-liberated areas, provincial governments have been set up in Fukien and Chekiang. In North China, great progress has been made in pushing forward national reconstruction. Reports from Kalagan state that liberated China is planning to establish its first state farm in a 200,000-mou grassy area in North Chahar. Ten tractors have already arrived at Kalgan and another 200 machines are expected next spring. It is understood that the projected farm, one of the two planned for Chahar, will be operated with machines for sowing, ploughing and harvesting.

* * *

Industrial Decisions

IN the industrial field, the North China People's government has made several important decisions on the future development of industry in the whole area. In compliance with recommendations submitted by the North China Trade Union Congress, the government decided to carry out the following:

(1) To shift the war industries gradually to producing peace-time needs, such as railway and equipment and farm implements;

(2) To change the type of work for employees in order to meet the changed situation;

(3) To establish vocational schools and to maintain the livelihood of the family members of the workers; and

(4) To give severance pay to workers if their period of service in the original factories is not long and if they are willing to return to their respective home towns to participate in production.

* * *

White Paper and Tito

THE American White Paper on Sino-American relations continued to engage public attention and discussion in this country during the past week. Chinese leaders describe the document as a blessing in disguise for the Chinese people because they say it has helped them to understand more clearly the true nature of American policy in China. Forums and discussion meetings have been held throughout liberated China to make a careful study of the document. Many statements of indignation have been published concerning US Secretary of State Acheson's statement that the United States should "encourage" subversive elements in China to overthrow the new people's government.

Public outburst against Joseph Tito of Yugoslavia has gained momentum in China. It is pointed out that Tito's betrayal of the revolutionary cause and his playing into the hands of imperialism offers a good example of what the United States plans to do in China as evidenced by the White Paper. The White Paper and the

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Tito case are pointed to as indicating that it is impossible to steer a middle course in current international relations in view of the fact that the world is now divided into two hostile camps — the anti-democratic imperialist camp headed by the United States and the peace-loving democratic camp headed by the Soviet Union.

There is no doubt whatsoever that Tito is being backed by the western powers. According to the *AP*, Tito is going to get a US$3,000,000 steel mill from the United States. "There is no doubt in Washington that sometime soon Tito will be able to get an American-backed World Bank loan," the story said. "Trade with western nations generally will become easier for him. . . . . Behind President Truman's approval of the steel mill sale to Tito is a very important policy decision. The essence of this decision is that Tito, as a thorn in the side of Soviet Russia, is worth divisions of soldiers and millions of dollars to the western powers. Therefore, it is felt that the United States has much to gain in trying to keep Tito and his whole Communist splinter movement alive and well. This may be a difficult —even impossible—task.

"The British recently negotiated a US$80,000,000 trade agreement with him and only this week a World Bank investigating mission arrived in Yugoslavia to determine the advisability of a loan. The granting of the license for a private American company to ship the steel mill to Yugoslavia some time in the next 18 months or two years does not cost the American government anything. It is not aid in the sense that Britain has been aided with billions of dollars. It is in fact one of the least expensive moves the government has made in the cold war. . ."

Apart from that, the United States government is contemplating sending arms and weapons to Yugoslavia to "help Tito defend his country." American papers are significantly "warning" that "Washington, London and Paris will not stand by without taking steps to defeat the Russian designs."

Dollar Crisis

TALKS between Britain, the United States and Canada are expected to start in Washington shortly to discuss Britain's dollar crisis. Well-informed sources are rather pessimistic about the outcome of the Washington conference. The United States takes a grave view of the financial situation in Britain, regarding the crisis as a serious threat to the power of the West in the present cold war.

The immediate objectives of the talks are to try to check the drain on Britain's gold and dollar reserves to keep them from falling below the US$1,000,000,000 mark. The target date for this achievement is January 1. There is considerable doubt about finding a solution to Britain's long-range economic problem that would be agreeable to both the British and American governments. Some British authorities are reported to be considering the creation of a tightly-knit and largely self-sufficient sterling bloc. That would mean the division of the world economy into three areas

In Chinese Magazines . . .

Economics Weekly

THE *Economics Weekly* of August 11, 1949 carries an article by Shou Chen-wen discussing the significance of the trade agreement recently concluded between the People's government of Northeast China and the Soviet Union. The article states:

"In the first place, the agreement fully reflects the depth of the friendship between the people of China and the people of the Soviet Union. With the October Revolution a new page in human history was opened by the establishment of the first Socialist state on earth. The Soviet Union during the last three decades has given the greatest sympathy and assistance to the task of liberation carried out by the Chinese people, and has treated China with an attitude of real equality. At the present juncture, when New China is facing a blockade in the hands of reactionaries at home and abroad, the Soviet Union has once again demonstrated its great international friendship for this country by concluding, on the basis of equality and reciprocity, a barter agreement with our Northeast, to help the people of China in breaking down the blockade via the overland route, and thus to tide over the economic crisis . . .

"In the second place, the agreement reveals that China can seek real friendship and assistance only from the anti-imperialist front headed by the Soviet Union. In the past, the imperialists, in giving aid to China, were only helping the country's reactionary ruling classes, so as to indulge jointly with the latter in the plunder and slaughter of the Chinese people, and to obstruct the progress of the movement for national liberation and the democratic revolution. Even today, when the people's democratic revolution is achieving its basic victory, the imperialists still do not give up their attempts to help the remnant Kuomintang influences. The so-called Pacific Union against communism and the coastal blockade has been engineered by American imperialism, while the Amethyst outrage reveals the unfriendly attitude of British imperialism . . .

"In the third place, the present agreement provides an embryo pattern for the foreign trade relations of New China. During the reactionary rule of China in the past, China's foreign trade consisted mainly of the imperialists dumping in China surplus products which were not entirely required by China, and taking away China's raw materials, making excessive profits in the process. The commercial treaties China formerly concluded with the imperialist countries all lacked the spirit of equality and reciprocity. The Sino-American Commercial Treaty is a good example.

"The present Sino-Soviet barter agreement provides only for the exchange of goods between the two areas and no conditions are attached thereto. This is really an agreement on a basis of equality. At the same time the goods specified in the barter agreement are those needed by both countries. This is really reciprocal. Of particular importance is the fact that the Soviet Union is prepared to supply industrial equipment which China needs badly for her industrialization projects. This presents a sharp contrast to the past attitude of the imperialists who sold mainly consumer goods and luxury items to China and who were reluctant to give us any capital goods. Though the scope of the present agreement is rather limited, the agreement, nevertheless, establishes a pattern for New China's future trade relations with the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies of southeast Europe."

* * *

TURNING to the possible repercussions of the trade agreement, the article says:

"In the first place, the agreement, which provides facilities for overland foreign trade, constitutes an effective reply to the enemy's blockade. Since China in the past, long under the aggression of the imperialists, had cultivated a considerable dependence on the imperialist countries for both raw materials and markets, the disruption of overseas communications resulting from the blockade has undoubtedly created temporary difficulties . . .

"It is true, of course, that the basic solution of these difficulties will lie in the improvement of the production machineries, the ending of the nation's dependence on the imperialist markets, and a change in the production policy to one serving the needs of the domestic markets. Nevertheless, with the friendly assistance now rendered by the anti-imperialist front headed by the Soviet Union, the enemy's blockade will be greatly weakened, and the period of economic hardship will be greatly shortened . . .

"In the second place, the agreement will help this country in rehabilitation and in the promotion of economic prosperity . . .

"Since World War II, the newly formed people's democracies of Southeast Europe have speedily revived from Fascist destruction. . . because, in addition to the great strength exhibited by these peoples, they have also obtained the friendly aid of the Soviet Union."

What Chinese Papers Say...

THE Chinese press lashed out at Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia, charging that he has betrayed the cause of revolution and sold out to the imperialists.

* * *

Tito, the Renegade

THE independent *Sin Wen Jih Pao* wrote as follows:

"The two notes addressed by the Soviet Union to Yugoslavia on August 11 and August 18 respectively have fully revealed the fact that the Yugoslav government under the control of the Tito clique has completely rebeled against the revolutionary course of Marxism-Leninism, and has been converted into the running dog and tool of US-British imperialism. The pitiable and shameless fate in store for that regime is the same as that of the Chiang Kai-shek bandits. One year ago, when the Cominform castigated the Tito clique, there were still people who did not realize the seriousness of the historical mistake committed by the Tito clique. They considered the issue to be an internal dispute among the Communist parties of Europe, or a dispute between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. The developments of the past year, both in the domestic and international affairs of Yugoslavia under the reactionary Tito clique, have now fully borne out the correctness of the resolution adopted a year ago by the Cominform.

"We all know that Yugoslavia, all along the vassal state of Anglo-French imperialism, was only liberated after the Soviet Army smashed the Nazi aggressors during the Second World War. We also know that any nation which is one of the People's Democracies must cooperate closely with the Soviet Union and accept the assistance and leadership of the strong forces of socialism, if it is to resist the sabotage and encroachment of imperialist influence, safeguard the democratic construction enterprises of the people, and consolidate the unity of the international forces for peace.

"But Yugoslavia under the Tito clique has not been doing so. It has been pursuing an entirely opposite course. On the one hand it professes to uphold the principles of socialism, but on the other hand it seeks to return to the old road of capitalism. It has been advocating blatantly the ridiculous theory that 'it can independently proceed to the order of socialism without the aid of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies.' So, as it turns out, it has revolted against international socialism and has plunged into the mire of ultra-nationalism. The result has been that it has to collude with the imperialists and walk on the fatal road of hostility against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. . . .

"At the same time, however, we must raise high our vigilance, and learn an important lesson from the shameless and evil fate facing the Tito clique because of their betrayal of the revolution. For the past year, the imperialists have left no stone unturned in their efforts at instigation and encouragement of the development of the so-called 'Tito-ism.' The so-called 'third road' pursued by the right-wingers of the Socialist parties of Europe, the 'nationalism' upheld by the Nehru reactionaries in India, and the 'democratic individualists' mentioned in the current American White Paper, are but variations of the perfidious intrigue of the imperialists.

"In the midst of strong opposition from people all over the world, and their defeats in various quarters, the imperialists are attempting to create a greater number of never-do-wells of the Tito type to satisfy their various illusions when they themselves are facing collapse and downfall. . . .

"Chairman Mao has already told us the truth of 'leaning to one side,' to the side of the Soviet Union. The People's democratic China is determined in its support of the doctrine of internationalism of the proletariat and will stand together with the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies of East Europe. Let the imperialists awake from their day-dream: they can find only one Tito, and not a second one."

* * *

THE *Ta Kung Pao* said that Tito is acting in violation of the will of the people of Yugoslavia. It pointed out:

"The Tito clique have a bourgeois conception of nationalism. They want to befriend the United States and the Soviet Union at the same time. They look eagerly toward participation in the Marshall Plan in the thought that it will mean true independence for their country. As this tendency develops, they become estranged from the Soviet Union, are suspicious of the Soviet Union, and begin to betray Marxism-Leninism and to collude with imperialism. . . .

"This course pursued by the Tito clique, this policy they take, is opposed by the people of Yugoslavia. Because of the people's opposition, they have had to introduce a reign of Fascist terror and to strangle democracy. The New Democracies of East Europe also oppose this policy of the clique. . . . As early as last year, the Cominform pointed out that if the Tito line of action were allowed to develop, Yugoslavia would be turned into a vassal of the imperialists. The developments of the past year have testified to the fulfillment of this prophesy. For the Tito clique today are not only the running dog of American imperialism betraying the interests of their fatherland, but they have also become the most brutal oppressive rulers of the people of Yugoslavia."

—American, Russian and British. US State Department officials fear that such a move would tend to split Western unity in the cold war.

Government officials in Washington let it be known that the United States government fully appreciates Britain's importance to the United States. It is pointed out that the United States will take full account of both political and military factors in working out a realistic approach to British appeals for help.

However, British diplomats in Washington were reported to feel concerned over the development of American policy because Secretary of the Treasury John W. Snyder, rather than Secretary of State Dean Acheson, is going to head the US delegation. British concern arose out of the fear that Snyder would want to discuss the British crisis solely in economic terms. Since Britain is in a bad way economically, British officials concluded the American attitude might be, on the whole, less sympathetic under Synder's guidance than under Acheson's leadership.

Another trouble is that the British delegation is said to be a house divided against itself. Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin and Economic Boss Stafford Cripps do not see eye to eye on what policy the British delegation should adopt. According to press accounts, Bevin has been plumping for what he calls a full-scale integration of the dollar and pound sterling systems. This could possibly mean a customs union or even a common currency. In other words, Bevin advocates greater reliance on and subservience to the United States. Bevin reportedly argues that integration is not only essential but also a logical outcome of Anglo-American diplomatic unity. Responsible officials in Cripps' department declare that Bevin is no economist. Cripps takes the view that Britain can win only by hard work—by producing more goods at less cost and using high pressure salemanship to market them for dollars. Britain must have dollars to buy the raw materials and food she needs.

As a relief measure, Food Minister John Strachey told a Labor rally that Britain could now maintain her food supply other than wheat from non-dollar sources. Britain gets only 12 percent of her food from dollar areas, 75 percent of which is wheat.

* * *

Far East on Agenda

APART from financial problems, the forthcoming Washington conference is expected to review the general situation in the Far East. Reports from Washington state that Bevin and Acheson are going to discuss possible development of an anti-Communist bloc in the Southeast Asia area. The British Foreign Office is reported to have emphasized to the State Department that in view of the political implications of Britain's economic crisis Bevin would like to follow the dollar talks with a series of fundamental political conversations with Acheson.

LETTERS

(Continued from page 1)

No newspaper would be allowed to reveal strategic secrets or exaggerate the strength of the PLA forces, on pain of capital punishment for the offenders! He said that, rather than have such lies printed, he would allow no papers to be published in Hunan. I would never have dreamed that General Chen could be so simple-minded and uneducated as to take no account of public opinion, or the fact that the great masses of the people are against him.

Things go from bad to worse. General Pai Chung-hsi, having withdrawn from Wu-han, came here and was put over General Chen. General Pai, said to be a "liberal," attempted to extort 600,000 silver dollars from Changsha, following the same pattern he used in Wu-han, where he got 1,200,000 silver dollars. This angered a retired military leader, Mr. T'ang Sheng-tze, who threatened to cut off Pai's retreat by destroying the Hunan-Kweilin Railway.

In such a fix, the citizens of Changsha feel suffocated and would like to breathe a little free air. We Hunanese all hope the People's Liberation Army will lose no time in rescuing us from the exploitation of the Kwangsi Clique.

SHERWOOD LIAO

Changsha
June 8, 1949.

Political Catholicism

To The Editor:

Many Catholics were distressed, when, in the former KMT days, politics were mixed with religion. In their sermons, some of the fathers cleverly concentrated on the necessity of fighting against communism. In the same way the Catholic Review excelled in describing alleged cruelties of Chinese Communist armies against Catholic priests and believers.

Now that the PLA has been here for some three months, everyone can see for himself its excellent behavior. (The American Army could indeed learn from the PLA). It would thus seem that a change in the attitude of some of the local Catholic priests might be noted. But no, in the July-August number of the Catholic Review, commenting upon the Pope's excommunication of the communists and their sympathizers, the following is said: "Unfortunate persons who cooperated, in the sacrilegious affront to Cardinal Mindszenty, have suffered a terrible punishment," etc.

Now every unbiased reader of the world press knows that Cardinal Mindszenty was convicted, after a fair trial, of high treason, resulting from proven charges of currency blackmarket operations and other criminal acts. The trial was covered by the American and European press. But according to the implications of the Catholic Review, everyone who thinks otherwise is a heretic and all those Catholics who intend to support the new Chinese People's Government in its efforts for peace and reconstruction are likewise to be called heretics and therefore condemned to hellfire.

More practical Catholicism and less power politics would be much better.

CHINESE CATHOLIC

Shanghai
August 29, 1949.

Active Life

To The Editor:

Since our return to Kaifeng (the old site of Honan University) my chief impression is the active life of the students. There are two universities in Kaifeng, Chungyuan Institute and Honan Institute, which, unlike the ordinary univerities, are universities of the people. There are 2,500 students here in all, coming from various levels of educational backgrounds—universities, middle schools and primary schools. Most of the students are here for political study; they spend two-thirds of their time in small groups discussing whatever they have learned. After supper there is the yang-ko and liberation songs.

Original Honan University students, who came here from Soochow, joined these political training courses last week because we realize that our education for many years has been a reactionary one and we are anxious to give our brains a chance to absorb the new political thoughts before we go on with our original courses. First of all, one must learn how to discuss questions and after that, from the discussions, there is much to learn. In short, we have stepped on the threshold of a new era and our former idle life has been changed into an active one; we have given up individual study to join in collective study. The stagnant air has been cleared and an active atmosphere is pervading the universities. In the new university of the people we are going to have a new lease on life.

HSU SHIH CHEN.

Kaifeng, Honan
July 25, 1949.

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The Review's English Lesson XCV

New Words and Phrases

MR. S. L. Wang has written, asking a few questions which may be of interest to other readers.

White Paper: Mr. Wang wants to know what the difference is between blue, white, red and yellow papers. In general, the terms blue book and white book (or paper) refer to official reports of government affairs. "Blue" and "white" refer to the color of the cover. As for red and yellow papers, we cannot find any references; perhaps some of our readers can inform us on the subject.

A white book, then, is an official government report, bound in white, formerly most used by the German, Portuguese, Czechoslovakian and Japanese governments, also for Papal reports. A blue book is an English parliamentary report, so called because of its blue paper covers. Both white books and blue books are usually of considerable length or scope. A white paper is a government (especially British) report on any subject, usually shorter than a blue book. In America, "blue book" has two special meanings: it refers to a register of the socially prominent, or to a blue-covered booklet used by students when writing their college examinations. American use of "white paper" to mean a government report seems to be fairly recent.

Modus vivendi: Mr. Wang asks if these are new words, and says he cannot find them in his dictionary. English is a hodge-podge of many languages—Greek, Latin, French, German, Anglo-Saxon, and others—and, through the centuries, has absorbed most of its foreign roots completely, so that they have become English. But certain expressions, from ancient or contemporary foreign languages, are occasionally used in their foreign form. This is especially true of certain learned professions, such as the law, which, with its origins in Roman law, is full of Latin terms. This of course has its practical side, since the lawyers, by using a language largely incomprehensible to the average man, thereby make themselves indispensable.

Such foreign words and phrases as are often used, especially in writing, are usually found in the dictionary in a special section, which lists them alphabetically and defines them. However, those of more common use are often listed in the main section of the dictionary. If you cannot find the word or phrase in the main section, and think it might be a word or phrase foreign to English, look for it in that section.

The quoted example, "modus vivendi," comes from Latin, and literally means manner or mode of living; as used, it means a temporary settlement, policy, arrangement, etc., usually implying that such a settlement is a makeshift which will be used or followed until a permanent and more satisfactory one is found. Another "modus" phrase is often used: modus operandi, which means the manner or mode of operating or working.

THE last ten years has seen many new words and phrases of foreign origin added to the English language, and new meanings given to old English words. Examples are: "agitprop," serving as the vehicle or organization of agitation and propaganda; "announcer," in radio, one who introduces programs, reads the news, etc.; "autarchy," absolute sovereignty or autocratic rule; "autarky," national economic self-sufficiency; autobahn," from German, a specially constructed high-speed motor highway, with two lanes separated by a strip of turf, and with no speed restrictions; "axis," an alliance entered into between two or more major powers to demonstrate their solidarity and to ensure collaboration and mutual support in foreign policies (from the Rome-Berlin axis of the fascist bloc); "Bauhaus," a famous modern school of architecture, combining art, science and technology to achieve functionalism in architecture, and experimenting with new materials; "blitzkrieg," from German, literally, "lightning war"—a violent surprise offensive to destroy the enemy's fighting power; "bulldozer," a heavy horizontal steel blade or pusher attached to a tractor, used in construction work and road building to level the ground, make embankments, etc.; "'collective," an organization or unit, as a collective farm, in a socialist state.

Then there is "contour," as in contour plowing—to plow along the line of equal elevation, in order to reduce erosion from rainfall; "electronics," the branch of physics dealing with the emission, behavior and effects of electrons, especially in vacuum tubes, etc.; "fellow traveler," from the Russian *popuchiki*, one who sympathizes with the ideals and program of the Communist party, without membership in the group or active participation in its activities; "fifth column," originally the Franco sympathizers within Madrid during the civil war in Spain; hence, secret sympathizers and supporters of the enemy engaged in espionage, sabotage and other subversive activities within defense lines; "frequency modulation," a practically static-free system of radio transmission, in which the frequency, rather than the amplitude, of the transmitting wave varies; "leftist," a member of a radical or revolutionary party; "liquidate," a euphemism for ruthlessly eradicating, or secretly doing away with, opponents; "monitor," in radio, to listen to signals in order to check on the operation of the equipment, or to follow news programs.

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